

5-1-2015

Assassination of Michael Collins: A Revival in Gaelic Nationalism

Tara Sandle

The College at Brockport, taratopia18@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/honors>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Repository Citation

Sandle, Tara, "Assassination of Michael Collins: A Revival in Gaelic Nationalism" (2015). *Senior Honors Theses*. 101.
<http://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/honors/101>

This Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Honors Projects at Digital Commons @Brockport. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @Brockport. For more information, please contact kmyers@brockport.edu.

Assassination of Michael Collins: A Revival in Gaelic Nationalism

A Senior Honors Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for Graduation in the Honors College

By
Tara Sandle
History Major

The College at Brockport
May 1, 2015

Thesis Director: Dr. John Daly, Associate Professor, History

Educational use of this paper is permitted for the purpose of providing future students a model example of an Honors senior thesis project.

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the link between the assassination of Michael Collins, the leader of the Irish Republican Army and then the National Army, and the rise in Gaelic Nationalism across Ireland after his death. Ireland struggled to gain independence from England throughout history because England controlled all aspects of Irish life. It was not until 1916, during the Easter Rising, that Collins started to play a key role in Ireland's mission to gain independence. As a result, Collins became a symbol of hope for Ireland's nationalism. On August 22, 1922, Michael Collins was assassinated and became a martyr for Ireland. For many years to come, Irish nationalists celebrated Collins with the highest honors for the important role he played in achieving Ireland's nationalism and independence. He was celebrated in art, politics, music, poetry, film, and national monuments.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and guidance from several individuals, who in one way or another, assisted in the completion of my paper. First, I would like to thank the entire History department at The College at Brockport for constantly pushing me to achieve the best in my education as a history major. Second, I would like to thank Dr. John Daly for working with me over the past year in order to produce the best thesis of my ability. I would also like to personally thank Kristen Maki for her extensive help during the editing process. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my Mom and my Dad for continuously supporting me through, not only my career at The College at Brockport, but also in my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	5
Part I: Immediate Reactions	11
Part II: Views Fifty Years Later	17
Comparison	24
Part III: Modern Day Ireland	30
Conclusion	35
Appendix	39
Bibliography	48

INTRODUCTION

Ireland fought long and hard for its independence from Britain, and many Irishmen contributed to this fight. Michael Collins was one of the key players during the Irish War of Independence. He was the leader of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and also the leader in the fight for Irish independence. Many people followed the actions of Michael Collins because he was the leader of the IRA. Collins became directly linked with the rise in Gaelic nationalism because he was the national symbol of hope for the Irish. There was no Irish War of Independence without Michael Collins because he led the nationalist party in the fight against England.

Collins fought for Ireland's independence for many different reasons. First, Collins fought for Ireland's independence because of the differences between the two countries. "To say that the Irish are different from the British would be an understatement. Not only are they culturally and linguistically different, but they take great pride in their difference, even after nearly eight hundred years of contact."¹ Michael Collins recognized the difference between the two groups, and he wanted independence from England. Secondly, "the Irish have felt oppressed by the British."² The British oppressed the Irish because they wanted control over their country. Collins did not want the British to rule over Ireland, so he fought for independence.

The IRA was involved with a number of violent events leading up to the Irish War of Independence. Easter Rising of 1916 was one of the most important events that took place before the war. The Easter Rising was one of the most tragic because many Irish lives were lost. The Irish rebels who participated in the rising wanted to overthrow

¹ William H. Kautt, *The Anglo-Irish War, 1916-1921* (Connecticut: Praegar Publishers, 1999), 7.

² Kautt, 7.

the British rule, but ultimately failed. The rising represented how much the Irish wanted their freedom from the English. However, British rule was stronger than ever, and they did not want to let go of their ties in Ireland.

Irishmen used World War One as a reason for the uprising. They did not think it was fair for them to fight for other people's freedom when they did not have it themselves. "Irishmen, they insisted, should not fight for the freedom of others until Ireland itself was free."³ In addition, men did not want to fight for Britain's cause, but for their own cause. The purpose of the Easter Rising was to show Britain that Ireland wanted its own independence.

The Easter Rising was not a complete failure for the Irish. The rising acted as a starting point for the Irish's fight. "Ireland was not with the revolution, but in a few months she will be, and her heart which was withering will be warmed by the knowledge that men have thought her dying for."⁴ The Easter Rising may have been premature, but the rebels saw this as their only chance to attack, and they knew in the years to come that their independence was near.

The Easter Rising is showcased in many different literary works. In W.B. Yeats, "Easter Rising, 1916," he comes to understand the events of the uprising and why it happened. The final stanza of his poem he writes about all the people who were involved:

And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?
I write it in a verse—
MacDough and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse

³ Alan J. Ward, *The Easter Rising Revolution and Irish Nationalism* (Illinois: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1980), 3.

⁴ James Stephens, *The Insurrection of Dublin*, (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013), 8.

Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly,
A terrible beauty is born.⁵

Yeats not only sided with the people involved with the Easter Rising, he also respected them for what they accomplished. The most important part of his poem, which is repeated almost at the end of every stanza, is “a terrible beauty is born.” Yeats believed that the Easter Rising began the Irish War of Independence. He referred to this as a “terrible beauty” because the war was for a good cause, but it was attained through deadly measures. The Easter Rising was the event that sparked a massive war between the two countries, and Ireland was determined to do whatever they could in order to win.

Michael Collins was heavily involved with the Easter Rising. He fought alongside all of the Easter Rising leaders, but he was not killed. Even though the Easter Rising was seen as a military disaster, leadership was able to officially start the war between the British. Collins started to draw up plans in order to fight the British, and many people looked to him for leadership. Because Collins led Ireland to its freedom, he became a hero in the eyes of many Irish. The Irish believed that Collins could defeat the British and gain independence for Ireland.

“On December 11, 1921, after two intensive months of negotiation, the British government dramatically announced that agreement on an Anglo-Irish treaty had been reached.”⁶ The Irish War of Independence came to an end because of the negotiation between the British government and Michael Collins. As the leader of the IRA, Collins saw an opportunity to settle the war with the British and save lives in the process by ending war. The Anglo-Irish treaty was meant to change Ireland into complete Dominion

⁵ Ward, 15.

⁶ Beth Hand, *A Position of Duress: The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921* (United States, 1979), 1.

status with the added bonus of Commonwealth. Ireland was to become a free state, but all the people who lived in Ireland were still considered British citizens under this treaty. Collins saw the Anglo-Irish treaty as a great opportunity for Ireland to gain its independence, but others did not agree. Many Irishmen thought Collins was giving up on Ireland's cause because they thought England still had control over them. The opposing sides were known as pro-treaty and anti-treaty. Half of the IRA wanted to sign the treaty with England and end the devastating war, and the other half wanted to fight until they achieved complete independent status as a Free State. "The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 failed to bring peace and stability to Ireland."⁷ The Anglo-Irish treaty did not help Ireland gain its rightfully due free status, and instead it created more strife across the land.

Both the pro-treaty and anti-treaty sides included members of the IRA because the group could not come to an agreement on the signing of the treaty. As a result, this period in Irish history is known as the "Transition Period." "In the view of many historians, the treaty of 1921 proved a tragic turning point in Anglo-Irish affairs, and still provides an essential key to the resolution of Ireland's continuing crisis."⁸ The treaty acted as a turning point within the transition period in Irish history because it created conflict between people who were originally fighting for the same cause. The conflict between the two different groups led to extreme violence in Ireland, and, eventually led to the assassination of Michael Collins by anti-treaty groups in order to send a message to those in favor of the treaty.

⁷ Hand, 1.

⁸ Hand, 1.

The Irish Civil War followed directly after the Transition Period in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 split the IRA in half, and this gave reasons for the anti-treaty side to retaliate against those in favor of the treaty.⁹ The opposing sides became the nationalists and the loyalists. Collins became a target of the IRA nationalists because he was now considered a loyalist for signing the treaty. As a result, Michael Collins was assassinated by the nationalists on August 22, 1922. An unknown Irishman shot down Collins in an ambush during a routine military operation in County Cork. Nationalists were ready to do anything in order to fight for Ireland's independence, and they believed that the death of Collins would help their fight. The assassination of Michael Collins sent a message to the loyalists. The Irish Civil War was fought between the nationalists and the loyalists in the IRA because of their differences on the treaty and Ireland's independence, and this fight continues for nearly a century and a half.

Michael Collins played a key role throughout an important time in Ireland's history. He changed the course of Ireland's independence, and he was assassinated and eventually mourned because of it. The image of Collins was closely linked with Gaelic nationalism, and the death of Michael Collins brought the rise of Gaelic nationalism. Gaelic nationalism was weak before the Irish War of Independence, but it began to rise throughout the war years because of Collins. Collins was a hero to the Irish because he was the main military leader to defend Ireland against Britain, and after his untimely passing, the Irish saw him as a symbol of Gaelic nationalism. As a result, the mourning of Collins was closely related to Gaelic nationalism. Both of these aspects show how the Irish came together as one nation through Gaelic nationalism and the mourning of an Irish hero.

⁹ Edward Purdon, *The Irish Civil War 1922-23* (Cork, 2000), 7.

Different types of Gaelic nationalism are shown in different areas throughout Irish culture. The most important types of nationalism in Ireland is closely linked with the remembrance of Michael Collins. The nationalism in Ireland can be broken up between immediate aftermaths of Collins' assassination, views and opinions on Collins fifty years after his assassination, and how Gaelic nationalism is represented in Ireland's modern day life. Newspaper articles, paintings, poems, movies, theater, and books depict Collins as a hero. Because of the relationship between Collins and Gaelic nationalism, he is mourned as a hero in the eyes of many, and Gaelic nationalism is stronger than ever before in Ireland.

PART I: IMMEDIATE REACTIONS

The immediate reactions to Michel Collins' death reveal his status as a national hero. The reactions of the Irish in regards to Collins' death show exactly how important they believed he was in the fight for their independence. The best evidence of this national outpouring is his funeral, newspaper articles, and Sir John Lavery's *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*. All three of these examples demonstrate how the Irish venerated their leader to cement their nationalism during this crucial time in Ireland's history.

News of Michael Collins' assassination erupted all around Ireland. Headlines read, "The Late Michael Collins," "A Nation's Grief: Burial of Beloved Chief," and "The Dead Chief." All of these headlines show Collins as a nationalist and hero for the Irish. In addition, the newspaper headlines show how Ireland was devastated by his death. On August 26, 1922 the *Southern Star* reported on Collins' death through the words of Government Publicity Department:

"People of Ireland: The greatest and bravest of our countrymen has been snatched from us at the moment when victory smiled through clouds upon the uprising of the Nation to which he had dedicated all the powers of his magnificent manhood.

"The genius and courage of Michael Collins lent force and an inspiration to the Race, brought the long fight against the external enemy to a triumphant end, which had become almost a dream, and swept before it the domestic revolt which tried to pluck from your hands the fruits of that triumph – your unchallenged authority in the land.

"In every phase of the awakened activity of the Nation – constructive, administrative, executive, military – the personality of Michael Collins was vivid and impelling. He has been slain, to our unutterable grief and loss – but he cannot die. He will live in the rule of the people, which he gave his great best to assert and confirm, and which his colleagues undertake as a solemn charge to maintain."¹⁰

The Government's statement on the death of Michael Collins depicts how loved he was not only by the government, but also by the people. The government states that Collins

¹⁰ R. UA Maolchata, "The Late Michael Collins," *The Southern Star*, August 26, 1922.

was “the greatest and bravest of our countrymen.” These words show Collins as a hero because of the cause for which he was fighting. Nationalists believed independence was one of the most important causes to fight for, and since Collins led the charge, he became a hero in the eyes of the many. In addition, government states, “the genius and courage of Michael Collins lent force and inspiration to the Race.” The government also believed Collins had courage because he led the fight. Collins was the perfect leader in the eyes of the nationalists because he was brave and courageous in his fight against England, and ultimately died as this hero.

Many newspaper articles depicted the scenes of Collins’ funeral. Newspapers reported on Collins’ funeral because the nation was grief-stricken by the tragedy.

“Dublin, Monday – The Nation to-day paid its last tribute to the dead Soldier Chief. Never in living memory have such crowds thronged the streets of Dublin. They came to honour a leader who had dedicated his life to the service of his country, and they came also to proclaim that the work which was not given him to finish shall be carried to a triumphant conclusion. Never has Dublin witnessed such a wonderful manifestation of grief and mourning as was seen in the streets to-day, where not alone did the population of the city but representatives from all parts of the country turn out to pay the last tribute to General Collins”¹¹

Thousands of mourners attended Collins’ funeral to grieve and show their support for his fight. Even though Collins died, his fight for independence was not over. His fight would continue through those supporters who showed up for his funeral. In the same article, the author also makes mention as to how many people showed up to mourn the death of Michael Collins.

“Whilst the religious ceremonies were in progress remarkable scenes were being witnessed in the streets. About 11 o’clock upwards of 50,000 people had congregated long before the cortege had left the Pre-Cathedral. It was a vast sad and silent assemblage that spread out as far as the eye could reach – their reverent and solemn

¹¹ “A Nation’s Grief: Burial of Beloved Chief,” *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

demeanour speaking eloquently and touchingly their intense feeling of sorrow and sympathy.”¹²

The number of people who showed up for Michael Collins’ funeral shows just how deeply he was imbedded in Irish ideal. Many mourned the death of their beloved leader and hero. He was a symbol of Irish hope for their independence, and continues the fight for Ireland’s independence.

Over fifty thousand supporters attended Collins’ funeral in order to pay their respects to their beloved leader. Nationalists support was heightened during this time because their symbol of hope was assassinated. Collins’ funeral procession took up the streets of Dublin with all of his supporters there to watch (Figure 1, 2 & 6). In addition, Collins’ brother and sister attended the funeral to pay their respect to their fallen sibling (Figure 3 & 5). Lastly, Collins’ grave was blessed because he was the man who represented nationalism in the eyes and hearts of the Irish (Figure 7). Michael Collins was the symbol of nationalism in Ireland, and when he died, his funeral was one way the Irish showed their increased nationalism.

General Richard Mulcahy’s graveside oration also gives insight into what people thought of Michael Collins. Mulcahy’s speech symbolizes Collins’ greatness and his perseverance for the greater good in Ireland.

“Our country is to-day bent under a sorrow such as it had not been bent under for many a year. Our minds are cold, empty, wordless, and without sound. But it is only our weaknesses that are bent under this great sorrow that we meet with to-day. All that is good in us, all that is strong in us, is strengthened by the memory of that great hero and that great legend who is now laid to rest.

We bend to-day over the grave of a man not more than thirty years of age, who took to himself the gospel of toil for Ireland, the gospel of working for the people of Ireland, and of sacrifice for their good, and who had made himself a hero and a legend that will stand in the pages of our history with any bright page was ever written there.

¹² “A Nation’s Grief: Burial of Beloved Chief,” *The Southern Star*.

Pages have been written by him in the hearts of our people that will never find a place in print. But we lived, some of us, with these intimate pages; and those pages that will reach history, meager though they be, will do good to our country and will inspire us through many a dark hour. Our weaknesses cry out to us, 'Michael Collins was too brave.'"¹³

Mulcahy's speech portrays Collins as a hero. His memory will always be that of a "great hero" and a "great legend." Because many of the Irish believed Collins was a hero, his funeral was sad for people to attend. The Irish did not want to say goodbye. Mulcahy states, "our minds are cold, empty, wordless, and without sound." People were devastated because Collins died in the middle of his fight for Ireland's independence, and that is why many people were speechless and silent during his funeral. General Richard Mulcahy's graveside oration shows exactly how Collins was a hero during the Nationalist's fight for independence.

Nationalists not only represented Collins as a hero during his funeral, but also in many articles about his life. "Michael Collins has died, the victim of an Irish bullet; but his grave, which to-day is smothered in a glory of flowers, will be placed of pilgrimage for the living."¹⁴ Collins was assassinated because of his beliefs, but his grave will become a pilgrimage for supporters of Ireland's independence. George Bernard Shaw sent a letter to Collins' sister, Hannie, in which he told her, "So tear up your mourning and hang up your brightest colours in his honour; and let us all praise God that he had not to die in a snuffy bed of a trumpery cough, weakened by age, and saddened by the disappointments that would have attended his work had he lived."¹⁵ The death of Collins

¹³ Justin Nelson, *Michael Collins: The Final Days*, (Dublin: Justin Nelson Productions Ltd., 1997), 85.

¹⁴ "General Collins Funeral" Immense procession to Glasnevin Densely crowded streets scene at the Graveside General Mulcahy's Oration," *Irish Times*, August 29, 1922.

¹⁵ Nelson, *Michael Collins: The Final Days*, 5.

was devastating, but it gave nationalists some hope because Ireland might soon win its independence back.

Lastly, Sir John Lavery's picture of Michael Collins is also another reaction to Collins' untimely death. "The picture was completed within ten days, three of which Sir John spent beside the dead body of his friend as he lay in Dublin."¹⁶ Lavery was a close friend of Collins and believed in the fight for independence. Lavery's picture of Collins, entitled *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*, was a tribute to the hero (Figure 10). In this portrait Collins is laying down on his bed with Ireland's flag and a cross across his chest with the words "Love of Ireland" written in the upper right-hand corner of the painting. Even though Collins has already fallen in this picture, it still shows Collins' love for Ireland and his role in achieving its independence. In addition, Lavery "undertook the painting of the portrait as a labour of love."¹⁷ Lavery loved Collins because of who he was and what he accomplished during Ireland's fight for independence. Lavery's, *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland* was a physical representation of Collins' nationalism and his fight for Ireland's independence.

Shane Leslie also wrote a poem after he saw Sir John Lavery's, *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*. Leslie's poem was an immediate reaction to the death of Michael Collins, and also an immediate reaction to viewing *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*.

What is that curling flower of wonder
As white as snow, as red as blood?
When Death goes by in flame and thunder
And rips the beauty from the bud.

They left his blossom white and slender
Beneath Glasnevin's shaking sod;
His spirit passed like sunset splendour

¹⁶ "Sir John Lavery's Picture of Michael Collins," *Donegal News*, September 16, 1922.

¹⁷ "Sir John Lavery's Picture of Michael Collins," *Donegal News*.

Unto the dead Fiannas' God.

Good luck be with you, Michael Collins,
 Or stay or go you far away;
 Or stay you with the folk of fairy
 Or come with ghosts another day.¹⁸

Collins death devastated the Irish because he was the symbol for Irish independence and Gaelic nationalism. Leslie states, "When Death goes by in flame and thunder / And rips the beauty from the bud." He believed that Ireland's hope for independence was lost immediately because Collins was killed. Leslie wishes good luck to Collins in the afterlife because he still believes he is fighting Ireland's fight from beyond the grave.

Michael Collins, Love of Ireland and Leslie's poem were both immediate reactions to the assassination of Michael Collins. Both men along with Ireland, were overcome with sadness to know the news of Collins' death.

Michael Collins was a martyr for what he tried to achieve for Ireland. He increased nationalism throughout Ireland during his fight for independence from England. He was able to raise nationalism all across Ireland when it was at its lowest; he became the symbol of Irish hope. Collins gave Ireland hope for its independence, and he spent his life working toward this goal. After Collins was assassinated, nationalism rose to its height, and this helped supporters continue the fight for independence. The assassination of Michel Collins helped solidify new nationalism across Ireland, and increased the support from people all over Ireland in order to fight for its independence.

¹⁸ Tim Pat Coogan, *Michael Collins: The Man Who Made Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Publishing, 1990), 386.

PART II: VIEWS FIFTY YEARS LATER

Views of Michael Collins as a national hero did not change in the generations after his assassination and have, in fact, strengthened with time and more generations celebrated him. Many nationalists still believed Collins was not only a martyr, but also a hero. Fifty years after Collins' death, supporters were still just as upset by the events on August 22, 1922 as they were when they first heard the news. The best evidence of nationalists' unconditional support of Collins is seen in his memorial, the *Michael Collins* film, Irish theater, and many published books on his life. All of these represent the nationalists' love for their leader who died many years ago.

In August 1965, a memorial for Michael Collins was placed at Sam's Cross. General Tom Barry addressed the unveiling of the memorial to the people of Ireland. In his speech during the unveiling, he addressed the many reasons the Irish loved Collins in his speech during the unveiling.

"Many of you were on opposite sides. Let us leave it at that. Each of us, like I did myself, believed in the correctness of our choice.

Let us end all the futile recriminations of an even which happened so many years ago and which divided brother against brother and neighbour against neighbour. Here at this monument erected to commemorate for all time the greatness of the contribution made by Michael Collins in our struggle for freedom, let us bury the dead past of dissensions.

He, who we knew hated the civil war and all its sad consequences, would have us all do so.

Michael Collins would be the first to deny any suggestion that he alone won this our struggle was one of teamwork and that other leaders of that period played their part in the victory.

However it can be said with certainty that no man inside Ireland or outside it, contributed more than Michael Collins to the fight for Irish Independence."¹⁹

¹⁹ Nelson, *Michael Collins: The Final Days*, 9.

General Barry's address at the unveiling of Michael Collins memorial talked about the many reasons why all the Irish loved him. The main reason why the Irish loved their leader was because of all of the work he contributed to Ireland's independence. In addition, many Irish believed that no other man played a larger role in gaining Ireland's independence than Collins. Figure eleven shows General Barry and Collins' nephew, Mr. Michael Collins, at the unveiling of the memorial. Both men, and the people of Ireland believed Collins contributed more than any man in the fight for Ireland's independence. For that, he became a hero and symbol for the rise in Gaelic Nationalism.

The film, *Michael Collins*, is another way Collins is remembered as a hero many years after his assassination. The film helps to depict the struggles of Ireland during the troubles, and what Collins did in order to achieve success on the nationalist side. The film looks at the bigger problem in Ireland during this time. "The film is not a conventional historical film, though it invokes and challenges history: It avoids monumentalism, the romance of heroism, and melodrama. Instead of inflating and reiterating familiar images of injustices, the film prefers to dramatize the immediate effects of the history of nationalism, offering less familiar, less inflated, and less inflammatory images than are customary in historical films and documentaries on the Irish 'troubles.'"²⁰ *Michael Collins* looks at the struggle in Ireland during this time, and Collins acts a problem to the solution. Collins becomes a hero to Ireland because he is the solution to the problem they have dealt with for many years.

Neil Jordan's *Michael Collins* also demonstrates the legacy of Collins after his death in 1922. The actors in this film represent his legacy. "(Liam) Neeson's presence

²⁰ Marcia Landy, *The International Cast of Irish Cinema: The Case of Michael Collins* (Duke University Press, 2000) 31.

not only accounts for the film's designs on a mass audience but situates his role in the genre of the historical film."²¹ Neeson was picked for this part because Jordan knew his name would draw a large international audience. He also picked a well-known actor to play the role of Michael Collins because Collins was an important figure in Irish history. Neeson drew a larger audience to the movie, and that way a larger audience would learn about the history, struggles, and key players in Ireland's history. Julia Roberts also drew a large audience to the film. "Julia Roberts lends the film further appeal in relation to her name recognition, though her role in the film is much subordinated to that of the male actors."²² Even though her role was small, it still shows this film was important enough to take on well-known actors as a way to draw in a larger international audience. The use of well-known actors in the movie *Michael Collins* drew a larger audience to the movie in order to show the struggles Ireland faced for many years, and Collins as a hero.

Another important aspect of the film was how Neeson portrayed Collins as a hero. Neeson needed to portray Collins as a hero because the film was about the career of Collins, and it ended with his death. "Like other biographical films, Jordan's film follows the trajectory of Collin's career and ends with his death. *Collins*, too, highlights the protagonist's movement from obscurity to fame, and it relies on star appeal and spectacle to render the image of the protagonist as engaging and worthy of consideration."²³ Collins came out of the darkness when he became the military leader for the nationalists' group. Neeson needed to portray Collins as hero because he was the answer to all of the nationalists' prayers. Collins was going to be the one who put an end to English rule in Ireland, and the one who gave back independence to Ireland. Neeson's

²¹ Landy, 31.

²² Landy, 31.

²³ Landy, 31-32.

portrayal of Collins was successful because international audiences believed that Collins was a hero just like the Irish believed. Collins was considered the protagonist in the fight against England, and people all around the world believed he was a hero.

The score of *Michael Collins* is the last important aspect to examine. “Music also plays an important role in the monumental biopic, identifying national and historical motifs in affective terms reminiscent of opera. In Jordan’s film, pathos is invoked, for example, in the operatic orchestration of Collins’s death.”²⁴ One aspect where music played an important role in the movie was during the death scene of Collins. The music was able to evoke emotions with the viewers and to make audiences feel mournful for the lost of Ireland’s great leader. Collins left a lasting impression on Ireland and on audiences all around the world. Collins’ story is told with glory in the 1977 film *Michael Collins*.

Gaelic nationalism also increased in the theater after the assassination of Collins. Gaelic nationalism did not play a role in theater before the Irish War of Independence. When the British took over Ireland, they forced many of the Irish to convert to the ways of the British and to leave their Irish heritage behind. Ireland did not have its own identity because it was suppressed by Britain. The Irish language was one aspect of Irish culture that was suppressed. “A new language emerged – Anglo-Irish. The Gaelic speaking people, forced to adopt English for their livelihood, but retaining the syntax and rich imagery of their native tongue, evolved a language that was, not only unique, but more expressive and poetic than the standardised and materially orientated speech of their neighbors.”²⁵ The British did not want the Irish to have their own language, so they

²⁴ Landy, 32.

²⁵ Hugh Hunt, *The Theatre and Nationalism in Ireland* (University College of Swansea, 1974) 7.

forced Anglo-Irish onto them. Anglo-Irish was the standardized language used, and the language was forced upon them as a daily reminder of British imperialism. The British targeted the Irish's language in order to purge Irish culture from daily life. As language awareness decreased, the invasion of British culture increased. The Irish did not have their own identity, and many British forced the Irish to convert to British ways.

Through the years, Ireland dealt with nationalistic ideals from within the country. Over the years, "the slow pace of reforms could not keep pace with the momentum of the national movements; for behind that movement was not only the discovery of Ireland's political strength, but the even more powerful discovery of Ireland's cultural inheritance – an inheritance that had always lain close to the hearts of Gaelic peasants, guarded and preserved through the secret treasure of their language."²⁶ After the assassination of Collins, there was an increase in nationalism all across Ireland. As a result, the Irish focused on taking their language back from the British because it represented the Gaelic culture. In addition, the Irish wanted to take back their Gaelic language because it had roots in their native culture.

Language played an important role in the theater because it is the main form of communication between performer and audience. When the Irish finally started to gain their independence and identity back from Britain, Gaelic went through a revivalism period. The biggest area where an impact of Gaelic revivalism is seen was in the theater. Theater was greatly affected by Gaelic revivalism because Gaelic became the language of all the plays. "The Twisting of the Rope... This little play, first performed in 1903, was to begin the tradition of the folk or peasant play – a tradition that has proved to be Ireland's most important contribution to world drama. Or equal significance was the fact

²⁶ Hunt, 6.

that the play was written in Gaelic – it was the first time that a play in the native language had been preformed in Dublin.”²⁷ Irish writers began to write plays in Gaelic in order to revive Ireland’s identity through its language. In addition, the Irish believed it brought awareness to the country about their heritage. The Gaelic language represented a movement in nationalism in Ireland, and it brought together the Irish in order to form one unified nation to defend their land against the British.

In the end, Irish theater was revived through Gaelic culture, and as a result nationalism in Ireland grew to its height. “Thus we have at the very beginning of nationalism in the Irish theatre these three streams, or tributaries, that met to form the great river of Irish drama: the Celtic revivalism of Yeats; the contemporary folk drama of Synge; and, to feed both, the old language itself.”²⁸ Irish plays made statements to audiences because of the subject matter and the use of the Gaelic language. The Gaelic language became a physical representation of Irish nationalism, and the language helped the revival of Gaelic nationalism. Irish writers accomplished the goal of reviving the theater through the help of the assassination of Collins and the revival of Gaelic language.

Ireland was still devastated even many years after of the assassination of Michael Collins. Collins gave Ireland a ray of hope for independence, and he was killed because of his beliefs. However, Gaelic nationalism regrew its strength because Collins’ death served as a symbol for its rejuvenation. Michael Collins was still embedded in the Irish’s daily life because they remembered his assassination like it had just happened.

²⁷ Hunt, 13.

²⁸ Hunt, 14.

The power and influence of Michael Collins in the Irish daily life is seen through a memorial erected in his honor, the 1977 movie, *Michael Collins* that acted as a celebration of Irish history and the role Collins play in it, and finally, in the rejuvenation of Gaelic nationalism in Irish Theater. All of these aspects show how important Collins was to Ireland, even many years after his death.

COMPARISON

Many Irishmen looked at Michael Collins in the same way Americans looked at Abraham Lincoln. Americans loved Lincoln because he fought for the Union, and the Irish loved Collins because he fought for Ireland's independence. Both men were leaders for their nations and fought for them accordingly. Americans reacted the same way toward the assassination of Lincoln as the Irish did toward the assassination of Collins. Both American and Irish people showed their sorrow toward their leaders through writing. Poems became an important aspect to cope with the pain of losing their leaders. Walt Whitman produced several poems based on Americans' reactions to the assassination of Lincoln, and based on his words, many Americans were devastated to lose their leader too soon in life.

In Memoriam: Michael Collins 1890-1922 by Shailah Jones commemorates the life of Michael Collins as a hero:

I think of a Celtic warrior
 Cycling through the sad back streets of Dublin
 Cannily avenging friends, avenging wrongs.
 There for that muddled rising at Easter-time,
 He saw his comrades slaughtered in the streets
 Or hanged or shut behind dank prison walls.
 Through gross betrayals and skirmishes yielding blood,
 By wiles and subtle stops and starts,
 Relentless he fought always for his country's greatness.
 Back from England, finally, a treaty in his hands,
 The half a loaf he'd brought embittered some.
 Hence was another tragic hero born.
 In Country Cork there were no stars that night.
 A single shot laid waste his passionate soul,
 And a rueful young assassin, and Ireland, left to mourn.²⁹

²⁹ Shailah McEvilly Jones, "In Memoriam: Michael Collins 1890-1922 (Poem)," *The Sewanee Review* 106, no. 2 (1988): 295.

Jones portrays a perfect image of Collins in the eyes of the Irish. The Irish believed Collins was a hero, who suffered a tragedy. Collins was a warrior and he fought for the independence of Ireland. In the end, Collins' "passionate soul" was killed on that unfortunate day. The Irish believed Collins was their savior from the British. Unfortunately, Collins was taken too early and the Irish were "left to mourn" his death. Through mourning the death of Collins, Gaelic nationalism rose to its height. Collins' death made him a hero to the Irish, and his legacy became forever memorable. In the end, Ireland came together as one nation and take pride in their history and commemorate the life of Michael Collins.

The next Whitman poem on Lincoln, *Hush'd Be the Camps To-Day*, is one of the many poems to show Americans reactions and emotions towards Lincoln's death. In the first stanza, Whitman demonstrates how quiet camps became due to his death:

HUSH'D be the camps to-day;
And, soldiers, let us drape our war-worn weapons;
And each with musing soul retire, to celebrate,
Our dear commander's death.³⁰

The camps came to a silence because of the commander's death. Soldiers wanted to celebrate the death of their commander without their voices, their weapons, and with their soul. The last stanza of this poem also showed how important Lincoln was to Americans.

As they invault the coffin there;
Sing—as they close the doors of earth upon him—one verse,
For the heavy hearts of soldiers.³¹

Americans also rejoiced in verse for their commander. Lincoln's death devastated Americans, but they were able to celebrate his life. Americans celebrated and rejoiced

³⁰ Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, (London: Walter Scott, 1886), 205.

³¹ Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 205.

the life of Abraham Lincoln just as the Irish did for Michael Collins. Collins was a great leader for Ireland, and the love for him is real because it mirrors the same love Americans had for Lincoln.

Padraic Colum also commemorates the life of Collins in his poem. In the final stanza of his poem he states:

“Did he remember the old songs?”
 She asks as requiem us on
 By quays, through streets, to burial-ground.
 I answered from my searching mind,
 “His powers made him prodigy,
 But old devotions kept him close
 To what was ours; he’d not forget
 Threshold and hearthstone and old songs.
 The requiem made for divers men
 Is history; his music was
 The thing that happen, as said Finn.”
 “No one is left on Ireland’s ground
 To hear that music,” she intoned
 “Since Michael Collins walks no more.”³²

Colum discusses a song the Irish sang about Collins. Collins was portrayed as possessing powers that made him exceptional. In addition, “old devotions kept him close” and people respected that. People enjoyed having a leader who had his own beliefs, and this made him a hero to the Irish. Gaelic nationalism rose in the same way Collins did as he led the Irish against the British. Collins’ assassination in 1922 did not kill the idea of Gaelic nationalism, instead it helped the idea flourish and helped the Irish fight for independence.

The next poem Whitman wrote that draws importance to this comparison is *When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d*. The love for Lincoln is deeply expressed in this poem:

³² Padraic Colum, “Commemorating Michael Collins,” *Poetry Foundation* 108, no. 2 (1966): 118.

Irish mourned the tragedy of Michael Collins. Collins took many actions to save Ireland, and it made him a hero to the many who believed in him. Ireland was not prepared to see Collins leave the world, but it did not hinder their nationalism. Gaelic nationalism increased after the death of Collins, and as nationalism rose throughout Ireland, Collins was portrayed as a hero.

The last Whitman poem that is important to look at is *This Dust was Once the Man*. Whitman shows another way Americans loved Lincoln.

THIS dust was once the Man,
Gentle, plain, just and resolute—under whose cautious hand,
Against the foulest crime in history known in any land or age,
Was saved the Union of These States.³⁵

Lincoln is portrayed in a different light in this Whitman poem. He is portrayed as the hero of the Union. Many Americans loved Lincoln because he was the hero for the Union, and he was the one who saved the Union. Lincoln was seen as a hero in the eyes of many Americans and that is why he was mourned deeply.

The final poem about Michael Collins, *The Tomb of Michael Collins*, by Denis Devlin, honors the tomb of Collins in his first stanza:

Much I remember of the death of men,
But his I most remember, most of all,
More than the familiar and forgetful
Ghosts who leave our memory too soon—
Oh, what voracious fathers bore him down!³⁶

Collins' death was the most memorable death of all of the lives lost in the Irish War of Independence and the Irish Civil War. Collins was the most memorable because he was the one who changed Ireland the most. He was the image of Gaelic nationalism, and he held the Irish strong against the British. The Irish lost Collins too soon in life, and this is

³⁵ Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 205.

³⁶ Denis Devlin, "The Tomb of Michael Collins (Poem)," *The Sewanee Review* 64, no. 4 (1956): 597.

one of the major reasons Gaelic nationalism still held strong after his assassination.

Through the assassination of Collins, Gaelic nationalism was born in Ireland, and this made him a hero in the eyes of the Irish.

Many similarities exist between both Abraham Lincoln and Michael Collins. Americans mourned the death of Lincoln deeply because of what he accomplished for the Union. The Irish mourned the death of Collins deeply because of what he accomplished for Ireland. Both men played the same roles for their corresponding countries. Because of their many accomplishments, countless supporters loved both of these men widely and deeply. Michael Collins is considered a great leader because he was mourned just as Americans mourned Abraham Lincoln.

PART III: MODERN DAY IRELAND

Gaelic nationalism still runs deep within modern day Ireland, and Michael Collins remains the central figure in modern Irish nationalism. The Irish are peculiarly aware of their history, where they came from, and where they are going. The Irish population is proud of their history because they created it with strong Gaelic nationalism. Gaelic nationalism is represented in different aspects of society than it was fifty years ago, but it is still just as strong. The most prominent aspects where Gaelic nationalism is seen in society are in sports, language, schooling, and national holidays. All of these aspects show the strongest representation of Gaelic nationalism within Ireland.

The Irish take pride in their traditional Irish sports. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was created in order to revive and preserve the Irish culture through traditional nationalistic sports. “The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), founded in 1884 to revive and codify native Irish sports, has attracted particular attention because of its nationalist ethos and its remarkable success in popularizing hurling and Gaelic football (played nowhere else in the world).”³⁷ Irish sports were reinvented during the nineteenth century in order to take back Ireland’s identity and nationalism through sports. One of the biggest sports that is played in Ireland is Gaelic football. The sport is a cross between American and European football, and is considered one of the hardest sports to play in the world because it requires muscle, speed, endurance, and agility. Gaelic football directly represents Ireland’s nationalism because it is a direct link to Gaelic culture. The GAA believed that if the Irish participated in traditional Gaelic sports, then they would

³⁷ Patrick Maume, “Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Soccer, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884 by Mike Cronin,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105 No. 5 (Dec. 2000), 1808.

reconnect with their Gaelic nationalism. Sports became an outlet for the Irish to express their own culture and Gaelic pride.

The traditional Irish language was another aspect of the Gaelic movement. The Gaelic language was one aspect of Irish culture that took the biggest hit during British rule. “The purpose of the Gaelic movement is to teach the people of Ireland of a great and truly historic past. Five-sixths of the people of Ireland speak the English language. No other language in the world’s history has been so suppressed as has the Gaelic.”³⁸ When England took over Ireland, they targeted their language in order to take away their national identity. One of the best ways to take back their national identity was to revive their traditional Gaelic language. One way the Irish increased awareness for the Gaelic language is during primary and secondary schooling in Ireland. Because this is mandated for every Irish child to learn, it created awareness for Gaelic culture and nationalism. The Irish government wanted to keep the Gaelic culture alive, and keep Gaelic nationalism alive because it gives Ireland a unique identity. Another aspect that increases Gaelic culture within Ireland are Gaeltacht communities. “The Gaeltacht community is composed of groups of villages and the traditional house clusters, or clachans, where the Irish language is spoken by more than 50 per cent of the inhabitants.”³⁹ Gaeltacht communities speak more Gaelic than English. These Gaeltacht communities thrive on Gaelic culture in order to preserve their nationalism, and it became a way to express their unique culture.

The Gaelic language has also spread across the world. Irish pride helped the language spread all over the world. “The Gaelic race throughout the world has been

³⁸ Arthur Marvin, “The Gaelic Movement,” *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 63 No. 3 (January, 18 1906), 65.

³⁹ Graham Moss, “Irish Dichotomy,” *Built Environment Quarterly* Vol. 4 No. 1 (March 1978), 59.

appealed to, to support the work of preserving the language of Ireland.”⁴⁰ The Gaelic race has worked to create international awareness in order to preserve Gaelic culture, and increase Gaelic nationalism. If people from around the world understood why the Gaelic culture was so important, then it could help Gaelic nationalism within Ireland. One of the most prominent groups that raise Gaelic awareness is in the United States. “The Gaelic League of America (composed of the branches in the United States), has been established to further the cause of the preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland, and by spreading a knowledge of Irish language and history, to give Irishmen in America a just appreciation of their own race traditions, and to stimulate a proper pride of race.”⁴¹ The Gaelic League of America represents one example where the Irish spread Gaelic culture in to another society. Spreading Gaelic language all across the world was one tactic the Irish used in order to preserve Gaelic culture. The Irish believed that if more people were aware of the Gaelic culture, then it would not die out, and that is what still keeps the movement strong in present day Ireland.

Maynooth University, located in Maynooth, Ireland, acts as another place that celebrates Ireland’s cultural heritage. Any international student that attends Maynooth University becomes aware of Ireland’s cultural heritage through orientation week. The Irish are extremely proud of their heritage and where they came from. Because the Irish are extremely proud of their history, many international students learn traditional Gaelic dancing, language, and mythology. Through these three subjects, international students learn the roots of Irish history and also learn why the Irish are proud to be where they are currently. In addition, Ireland’s “troubles” come up on a daily basis. The Irish believe

⁴⁰ Charles Monaghan, “The Revival of the Gaelic Language,” *PMLA* Vol. 14 (1899), xxxvii.

⁴¹ Monaghan, “The Revival of the Gaelic Language,” xxxviii.

that awareness about their “troubles” will help people understand why the Irish are proud of their history, and also to make sure it does not happen again in Ireland. Maynooth University is one of the leading places in Ireland that demonstrates their love for Ireland and their appreciation for Gaelic nationalism.

The celebration of St. Patrick’s Day is the last part of modern day society that shows appreciation toward Ireland’s national identity and Gaelic nationalism. “For two centuries or more, street parades have been central to St Patrick’s Day observance in Ireland and, even more so, in those parts of the world touched by the Irish Diaspora.”⁴² St. Patrick’s Day is celebrated in order to recognize Gaelic nationalism within Ireland. March seventeenth is celebrated as a public event every year in order to bring awareness to people around the world. “One of the more intriguing aspects of St. Patrick’s Day celebrations as a nationalised ritual of a preformed Irishness, both within and outside Ireland, is the extent to which it represents a dialogue between territorialised and diasporic expressions of Irish identity, and claims of belonging to Irishness.”⁴³ St. Patrick’s Day is celebrated all around the world by the Irish in order to recognize their Gaelic nationalism and bring awareness to their long history for their fight of independence.

The assassination of Michael Collins increased Gaelic nationalism within Irish society, and modern day Ireland still shows many different aspects of the culture. Gaelic nationalism still runs deep within modern Ireland because the Irish are reminded of their fight on a daily basis. They celebrate their Gaelic nationalism through traditional Gaelic

⁴² Criostóir Mac Cárthaigh, “The Wearing of the Green: A History of St Patrick’s Day by Mike Cronin; Daryl Adair,” *Folklore*, Vol. 117 No. 1 (2006), 118.

⁴³ Marc Scully, “Whose Day Is It Anyway? St. Patrick’s Day as a Contested Performance of National and Diasporic Irishness,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, (2012), 118.

sports, Gaelic language, schooling, and national holidays. Collins became a part of this older and longer established tradition, and now is revered as part of it. All of these aspects come together to show how the Irish celebrate their history in modern day Ireland. Irish society cherished Gaelic nationalism because of Collins' assassination was able to help it flourish. The Gaelic culture will have a place in Irish society for many years to come.

CONCLUSION

Michael Collins was Ireland's hero. He believed they needed to break away from Britain's hold over them in order to flourish on their own. Raising Gaelic nationalism across the country helped him succeed. Collins became the symbol of Gaelic nationalism for Ireland in order to make the Irish reunite with their Gaelic roots. As Gaelic nationalism rose in Ireland, the Irish became stronger in their fight against Britain, and ultimately ended up succeeding. When Collins was assassinated by the enemy, the Irish knew they needed to finish his fight, and their Gaelic nationalism helped them do just that. The assassination of Michael Collins helped Gaelic nationalism flourish in Ireland because of the strong relationship between the two. Michael Collins was the hero of Ireland, and he was ultimately mourned deeply by the Irish because he started the fight for Ireland's independence.

The immediate reactions, views fifty years later, and modern day views about Collins remain constant. The Irish showed their love for their leader immediately after his death by writing commemorative articles on his accomplishments, by attending his funeral and lining up in the streets to mourn his death and pay their respects, through General Richard Mulcahy's graveside oration, and finally by Sir John Lavery's painting, *Love of Ireland* as a tribute to their fallen leader. Views fifty years later did not change from the immediate reactions of the Irish. Collins' memorial, the *Michael Collins* movie, Irish theater, *The Man Who Made Ireland*, and the comparison between Collins and Lincoln all show the same type of mourning and respect for their leader. Lastly, modern day Ireland still remembers Collins as a great hero and symbol of Gaelic nationalism. The Gaelic Athletic Association, Gaeltacht communities, Irish schooling, and national

holidays are all the different ways that the Irish still keep the connection between Gaelic nationalism and Collins alive in Ireland. Ireland has always kept the connection between Michael Collins and Gaelic nationalism strong over the years through many different methods of coping with his assassination. Different time periods in Irish history present examples of how the Irish dealt with the death of Collins, and where Gaelic nationalism flourished in society as a result.

The Irish flag is a physical representation of the aspiration of peace between Catholics and Protestants.⁴⁴ The green represents traditional Gaelic culture, the orange represents Protestant Ireland, and the white represents the aspiration for peace between the two forces in Ireland. Collins wanted this peace. He wanted to restore the Gaelic culture, and find peace between the Irish. The Irish flag is a symbol of the forces at work in Ireland and the hope of unity and peace that Collins supported. Michael Collins was loved by the many because he was the hero of Ireland. He fought for peace in Ireland and was assassinated because of his beliefs. He is one of the most remembered leaders in all of Irish history for all of these reasons. Michael Collins was assassinated on August 22, 1922. After his death, the Irish needed to finish his fight for independence, and they accomplished this task because Collins helped to raise Gaelic nationalism in Ireland.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Figure 12, Appendix.

⁴⁵ "Michael Collins was, is, and is destined to be a national hero." "Michael Collins," *Western People*, September 9, 1922. "He never forgot the men down the country. He was an untiring working in the cause of freedom." "Carry on the Work, General O'Duffy and the Nation's Duty, What Michael Collins did for Ireland, Glowing Address at Limerick," *Ulster Herald*, September 2, 1922. "Michael Collins – the great scorner of death; the man who for years faced death with a smile on his lips – is dead... 'He cannot be dead. No bullet would kill Mike' This was the cry of one who had been a dear comrade of Michael Collins. And yet it is so." "Reminiscences," *Southern Star*, September 9, 1922. "Dublin, Friday. – Thousands of citizens, with heavy hearts filed past the catafalque, in the City Hall to-day where the body of General Collins is lying in state." "The Dead Chief," *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922. "On last Monday, amid the tears of a sorrow-laden people, the remains of a great patriot, a great Statesman, a great Soldier and a great MAN were laid to rest in Glasnevin." "Peace and Goodwill," *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922. "But what of to-day – Monday, August 28th, 1922. The sun shines again on a sad broken, almost despair-stricken city. A fortnight ago the people's waiting was not without hope. And let the truth be told here and

Since that fateful day in August, Ireland has not turned its back on Gaelic nationalism, and it is stronger than ever in all aspects of Irish life.

now – a big percentage of the endless lanes of people came... to see and study and eat in with every fibre of their being, the living beautiful, wonderful super-man of mystery and romance, the young idol on whose shoulders the mantle of Griffith had fallen.” “The Late General Collins,” *The Southern Star*, September 9, 1922. “It was that attitude, combined with his driving force, relentless energy, initiative and marvelous organising power that elicited the observation from Arthur Griffith that he was ‘the man who won the war.’” “General Collins During the Terror,” *The Southern Star*, September 6, 1922. “When Michael Collins met difficulties, met people who obstructed him, and worked against him, he did not turn aside to blame them, but facing steadily ahead, he worked bravely forward to the goal that he intended.” Nelson, *Michael Collins: The Final Days*, 87.

Thank you for reading!

APPENDIX



46

Figure 1

Picture of Collins' body being moved after the Pro Cathedral.

⁴⁶ Collins 22 Society, The coffin of General Michael Collins being secured on the Gun Carriage for conveying to Glasnevin following Mass in the Pro-Cathedral, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



47

Figure 2

Picture of Collins' funeral procession after leaving the Mansion House and headed to the Pro-Cathedral.

⁴⁷ Photobucket, Trinity College Dublin, last modified 2015, <http://archiseek.com/forum/topic/trinity-college-dublin/page/2/>.



48

Figure 3
Collins' siblings Sean and Hannie pay respect to their fallen brother's grave.

⁴⁸ Collins 22 Society, Floral Tributes on the grave of Michael Collins burial, Pictured are his brother Sean and Sister Hannie, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



Figure 4

Garda Commissioner General Eoin O'Duffy laying a wreath on the grave of Michael Collins on the one year anniversary of Collins' death.

⁴⁹ Collins 22 Society, Garda Commissioner General Eoin O'Duffy laying a wreath on the grave of Michael Collins August 1923, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



50

Figure 5

Sean, Collins' brother, is mourning the death of his brother during the funeral.



51

Figure 6

Another view of Collins' funeral procession moving along the streets of Dublin

⁵⁰ "A Touching Scene," *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

⁵¹ Collins 22 Society, General Michael Collins, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



52

Figure 7
The blessing of the monument over Michael Collins' grave in 1939.

⁵² Collins 22 Society, Blessing of the Monument of Michael Collins Grave, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



53

Figure 8
Picture of Collins' Pall Bearers at his grave in Glasnevin.

⁵³ Collins 22 Society, Pall Bearers at Michael Collins' Gravesite, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.



Figure 9
Military headshot of Collins.

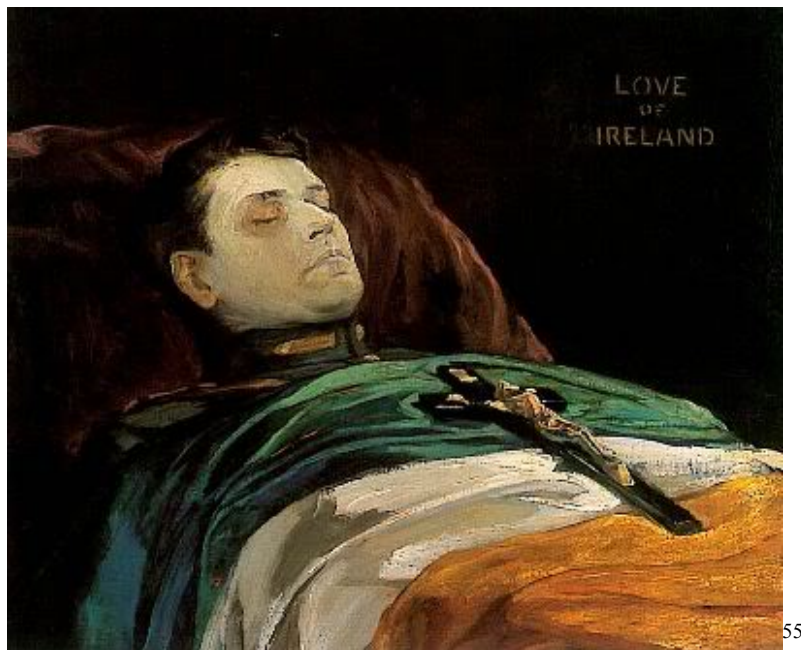


Figure 10
Sir John Lavery's *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland* painting.

⁵⁴ The Telegraph, Michael Collins was a peace icon, last modified August 22, 2007, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1561022/Michael-Collins-was-a-peace-icon-says-Puttnam.html>

⁵⁵ Sir John Lavery, *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*, <http://gavin-rules.livejournal.com/1452.html>.



56

Figure 11
General Tom Barry with Mr. Michael Collins, nephew of General Collins at the memorial at Sam's Cross.



57

Figure 12
The Irish Flag

⁵⁶ Nelson, *Michael Collins: The Final Days*, 9.

⁵⁷ Flag of Ireland, Proud to be Irish, last modified 2006, <http://www.proud2beirish.com/National-Flag.htm>.

Bibliography

“A Nation’s Grief: Burial of Beloved Chief,” *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

“A Touching Scene,” *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

“Carry on the Work, General O’Duffy and the Nation’s Duty, What Michael Collins did for Ireland Glowing Address at Limerick,” *Ulster Herald*, September 2, 1922.

Collins 22 Society, last modified 2014, <http://www.generalmichaelcollins.com/photo-gallery/photo-album-two/>.

Collins, Michael S., “Michael Collins,” *The Johns Hopkins University Press* 27, no. 3 (2004): 663.

Colum, Padraic, “Commemorating Michael Collins,” *Poetry Foundation* 108, no. 2 (1966): 118.

Coogan, Tim Pat, *Michael Collins: The Man Who Made Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Publishing, 1990).

Devlin, Denis, “The Tomb of Michael Collins (Poem),” *The Sewanee Review* 64, no. 4 (1956): 597.

Flag of Ireland, Proud to be Irish, last modified 2006, <http://www.proud2beirish.com/National-Flag.htm>.

“General Collins During the Terror,” *The Southern Star*, September 6, 1922.

“General Collins Funeral” Immense procession to Glasnevin Densely crowded streets scene at the Graveside General Mulcahy’s Oration,” *Irish Times*, August, 29 1922.

Hand, Beth. *A Position of Duress: The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921* (United States, 1979).

- Hunt, Hugh, *The Theatre and Nationalism in Ireland* (University College of Swansea, 1974).
- Jones, Shailah McEvilly, "In Memoriam: Michael Collins 1890-1922," *The Sewanee Review* 106, no. 2 (1988): 295.
- Kautt, William. *The Anglo-Irish War, 1916-1921* (Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1999).
- Landy, Marcia, *The International Cast of Irish Cinema: The Case of Michael Collins* (Duke University Press, 2000).
- Laverty, Sir John, *Michael Collins, Love of Ireland*, <http://gavin-rules.livejournal.com/1452.html>.
- Mac Cárthaigh, Criostóir, "The Wearing of the Green: A History of St Patrick's Day by Mike Cronin; Daryl Adair," *Folklore*, Vol. 117 No. 1 (2006), 118.
- Maolchata, R. UA, "The Late Michael Collins," *The Southern Star*, August 26, 1922.
- Marvin, Arthur, "The Gaelic Movement," *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 63 No. 3 (January, 18 1906).
- Maume, Patrick, "Sport and Nationalism in Ireland: Gaelic Soccer, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884 by Mike Cronin," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105 No. 5 (Dec. 2000).
- "Michael Collins," *Western People*, September 9, 1922.
- Monaghan, Charles, "The Revival of the Gaelic Language," *PMLA* Vol. 14 (1899).
- Moss, Graham, "Irish Dichotomy," *Built Environment Quarterly* Vol. 4 No. 1 (March 1978), 59.

Nelson, Justin, *Michael Collins: The Final Days* (Dublin: Justin Nelson Productions Ltd., 1997).

“Peace and Goodwill,” *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

Photobucket, Trinity College Dublin, last modified 2015,

<http://archiseek.com/forum/topic/trinity-college-dublin/page/2/>.

Purdon, Edward. *The Irish Civil War 1922-23* (Cork, 2000).

“Reminiscences,” *Southern Star*, September 9, 1922.

Scully, Marc, “Whose Day Is It Anyway? St. Patrick’s Day as a Contested Performance of National and Diaspora Irishness,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, (2012), 118.

“Sir John Lavery’s Picture of Michael Collins,” *Donegal News*, September 16, 1922.

Stephens, James, *The Insurrection of Dublin*, (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013).

“The Dead Chief,” *The Southern Star*, September 2, 1922.

“The Late General Collins,” *The Southern Star*, September 9, 1922.

The Telegraph, Michael Collins was a peace icon, last modified August 22, 2007,

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1561022/Michael-Collins-was-a-peace-icon-says-Puttnam.html>

Ward, Alan. *The Easter Rising Revolution and Irish Nationalism*. (Illinois: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1980).

Whitman, Walt, *Leaves of Grass* (London: Walter Scott, 1886).